The League of the Iroquois

Rev. Edward Payson Johnson

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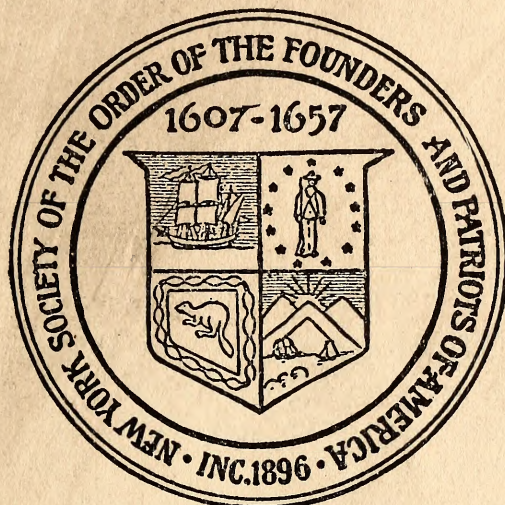

"STEADFAST FOR GOD AND COUNTRY"

AN ADDRESS BY

REV. EDWARD PAYSON JOHNSON, D. D.

DELIVERED BEFORE

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AT THE HOTEL MANHATTAN, NEW YORK

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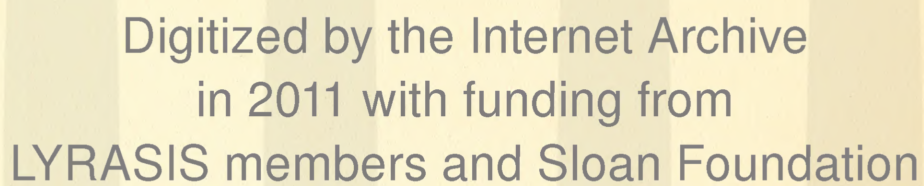
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A PAPER READ AT A STATED MEETING OF THE NEW YORK SOCIETY OF THE ORDER OF THE FOUNDERS AND PATRIOTS OF AMERICA, HELD AT THE HOTEL MANHATTAN, FEBRUARY 16, A. D., 1914. :: :: ::

BY

REV. EDWARD PAYSON JOHNSON, D. D.

Indians of North America

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THE LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

WHEN the Dutch Colonists first settled on the Hudson River in 1615 the greater part of the present state of New York was in the possession of a powerful Indian confederacy called "Konoshioni", the "Cabin-Makers", or "People of the Long House",—but more commonly known as the "League of the Iroquois". These Indians have been well called "the Romans of the Western World", not more for their haughty supremacy over other aboriginal tribes of North America, than for their genius for national organization and government.

Since tradition is the only history known to the red man, the origin, or first home, of the constituent nations of the Iroquois League is not easily determined. It is claimed that centuries ago the ancestors of the Iroquoian family of nations wandered eastward from the Columbia River Valley and Puget Sound, finding a home at length in the Mississippi Valley, where they learned to build permanent villages and till the soil. On these fertile plains they remained together for long time; but at length the Cherokees separated from the main body, and made a home for themselves in the southern region including eastern Tennessee, northern Georgia and western North Carolina. Some time afterward the Oneidas, Onondagas and Mohawks, in association with the Hurons, moved eastward through the country north of Lakes Erie and Ontario, while the Cayugas and Senecas, with their near kindred, the Eries, established themselves in the country lying south of these lakes. Later the Oneidas seem to have settled in central New York, perhaps preceded by the Onondagas; but the Mohawks and Hurons still journeyed east, till they reached and took possession of the St. Lawrence Valley, where for long time these two tribal nations lived together in peace, followed fishing, hunting and farming, and both prospered and increased. Quebec was for a time the chief Mo-

hawk town; and it was probably these people that Jacques Cartier found here in 1535. The chief Huron town was Hochelaga on the island of Montreal. Although Hurons and Mohawks up to this time seem to have been good friends and neighbors, as well as kinsmen, finally there came jealousy and war between them; and the Mohawks drove the Hurons out of Hochelaga, and made it their own capital city. Apparently they held the whole country at one time from the mouth of the St. Lawrence River to the head-waters of the Mohawk River.

Beginning in a hunters' quarrel, not far from the middle of the sixteenth century, the widely extended Mohawk people were suddenly and violently attacked by the whole family of Algonquin tribes, as well as by the Hurons. Several of the Mohawk settlements were entirely destroyed; many of their people were slain or incorporated with the Hurons or Algonquins; and the remnant of the Mohawks retreated southward to their Oneida kindred in central New York.[1]

With the coming of the Mohawks the five kindred nations are near neighbors again; sometimes they are on the best of terms, sometimes they are disputing and quarreling with each other, and at other times they are unitedly making war upon surrounding tribes. Probably not far from the year 1570, a wise old chieftain of the Onondaga nation, foreseeing the certain result of frequent suspicions, rivalries and bloody quarrels, urged upon various leading men of the different nations the formation of a league, or confederation, that should bind together all five nations in one perfect and indissoluble union. Certain of the conflicting Iroquois traditions represent the famous "Hiawatha" of Longfellow's familiar poem as the author and inspirer of this wise policy. "The words attributed to Hiawatha, 'the very wise man', mingled with much romantic story, are so descriptive of the family peculiarities of the different nations that they are worthy of notice in the briefest of the two forms preserved among the people. The scene of the conference was on a hill-slope north

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[1]Morgan's League of the Iroquois, II, pp. 188, 189.

of Onondaga Lake. And these were the wise words of Hiawatha: "We have met, members of many nations, many of you a great distance from your homes, to provide for our common safety. To oppose these foes from the north by tribes, and alone, would prove our destruction. We must unite as a common band of brothers, and shall be safe. You Mohawks, sitting under the shadows of the great trees, whose roots sink deep into the earth, and whose branches spread over a vast country, shall be the first nation, because you are warlike and mighty. You Oneidas, a people who recline your bodies against the everlasting stone that cannot be moved, shall be the second nation, because you give good counsel. You Onondagas, who have your habitation at the great mountain and are overshadowed by its crags, shall be the third nation, because you are greatly gifted in speech and are mighty in war. And you Cayugas, whose habitation is in the dark forest and whose home is everywhere, shall be the fourth nation, because of your superior cunning in hunting. And you Senecas, a people who live in the open country, and possess much wisdom, shall be the fifth nation, because you understand the art of raising corn and beans, and making cabins. You five great and powerful nations must unite and have but one common interest, and no foe shall be able to subdue you. If we unite, the 'Great Spirit' will smile upon us. Brothers, these are the words of Hiawatha. Let them sink deep into your hearts."[1]

His counsel was received with favor. The Conference continued during many days; leading principles and lesser details were patiently wrought out; and when this notable first "Constitutional Convention" of Red Men ended its labors, they had solemnly and unanimously adopted a "Plan of Union" in many respects better adapted to fuse the constituent parts into one great, harmonious, happy and ideal *Family* than anything ever devised before by the mind of man.

We learn from Morgan's great work, "The League of the Iroquois", that "The founders of the Iroquois Confederacy

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[1]General Henry B. Carrington; U. S. Report on the Six Nations; p. 20.

did not seek to suspend the tribal divisions of the people to introduce a *different* social organization; but, on the contrary, they rested the League itself upon the *tribes,* and thru them sought to interweave the race into one political family. In each nation there were eight tribes, which were arranged in two divisions, and named as follows:

Wolf,	Bear,	Beaver,	Turtle,
Deer,	Snipe,	Heron,	Hawk,

In effect, the Wolf tribe—and as well each of the remaining seven tribes—was divided into five parts, one-fifth being placed in each of the five nations. Between those of the same name—the separated parts of each tribe—there existed a tie of brotherhood which linked the nations together with indissoluble bonds. In the eyes of an Iroquois every member of his own tribe, in whatever nation, was as much his brother, or his sister, as if children of the same mother. This cross relationship between the tribes of the same name, and which was stronger, if possible, than the chain of brotherhood between the several tribes of the same nation, is still preserved in all its original strength. Had the *nations* fallen into collision, it would have turned Hawk tribe against Hawk tribe, Heron against Heron, brother against brother. Without these close inner relations, resting, as many of them do, upon the strong impulses of nature, a mere alliance between the nations of the Iroquois would have been feeble and transitory.

"Originally, with reference to marriage, the Wolf, Bear, Beaver and Turtle tribes of the first division, being brothers to each other, were not allowed to intermarry. The four tribes of the second divison, being also brothers to each other, Deer, Snipe, Heron, Hawk, were likewise prohibited from intermarriage. Either of the first four tribes, however, could intermarry with either of the last four, the relation being that of cousins. Thus Hawk could intermarry with Bear or Beaver, or Heron with Turtle; but not Beaver and Turtle, nor Deer and Deer. Whoever violated these laws incurred the deepest detestation and disgrace. In process of time, however, the rigor of the system was relaxed, until finally the prohibition was confined to the tribe of the individual,—which prohibition

among the Iroquois of to-day is still religiously observed. They can *now* marry into any tribe but their own. The children always followed the tribe of the mother. As two tribes were necessarily joined in each family there was a perfect diffusion of tribes throughout the nations, and throughout the League. In this manner these Iroquoian peoples, although constituted of different nations, were fused into one Family. The League was, in effect, established, and rested for its stability, upon the natural faith of kindred."[1]

So much for the consolidation of the five nations; now, let us briefly examine the government of the League. "At its institution fifty permanent and hereditary sachemships were created, with appropriate names, in whom were vested the supreme powers of the confederacy. The sachems were equal in rank and authority; united, they formed the 'Council of the League', the ruling body, in which resided the executive, legislative and judicial authority. These fifty titles, excepting two, have been held by as many sachems, in succession, since the formation of the League. The nine Mohawk sachems administered the affairs of that nation with joint authority, precisely as they did in connection with their colleagues in the affairs of the League at large.[2]

"Military service was not conscriptive, but voluntary, although every man was subject to military duty, and to shirk it brought disgrace. Most extraordinary of all, the *matrons* sat in council with a substantial veto as to peace or war. With these barbarians, says one historian, woman was man's co-worker in legislation, a thing yet unknown among civilized people. And Colden sagely suggests that 'here we may with more certainty see the original forms of government than in the most curious speculations of the learned.' "[3]

It was the boast of the Iroquois that the great object of their confederacy was peace,—to break up the spirit of perpetual warfare which had wasted the red man from age to age. This is the highest and noblest aspect in which human

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[1]League of the Iroquois; I, pp. 75, 77, 78, 79, 86.
[2]L. of I., I, pp. 59, 62, 65.
[3]Carrington, p. 21.

institutions can be viewed; and the thought itself—universal peace among Indian races possible of attainment—proves the work of an extraordinary intellect.[1]

The territory occupied by the League, their "Long House", reached from the banks of the Hudson to the shores of Lake Erie. The western door was guarded by the Senecas, while the Mohawks kept the eastern door. The Albany locality was known among the Iroquois as "Scheneghtadea", "beyond the opening", or "the door"; and the near-by noble river was called "Cahohatatea", "the river which cuts the mountains", or, as some say, "the river of the mountains"; while the Mohegans of the eastern bank frequently spoke of it as the "Shatemuck". In 1643 the Iroquois nearly destroyed the Eries, and extended their successes to northern Ohio. In 1670 they controlled the whole country between Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario, and the north bank of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Ottawa River near Montreal. In 1680 the Senecas invaded Illinois, even to the Mississippi, at the time that La Salle was preparing to descend that great river to the sea. As early as 1607 John Smith met a band of them in canoes upon the upper waters of Chesapeake Bay on their way to the territory of the Powhatan confederacy. Only when the protracted wars with the French demanded their constant attention and all their resources did they give up the extension of their growing empire.[2]

"The Mohawks", says Brodhead, "of all the confederated nations were the bravest and the fiercest. No hunter warriors of the North American continent ever filled a higher measure of heroism and military renown. Standing at the eastern door of 'the Long House,' the Mohawk warriors were the chief agents in carrying to the sea the conquests of the Iroquois. Far across the hills of Massachusetts, and through the valley of the Connecticut, the dreaded name of Mohawk enforced an absolute submission; and their annual envoys collected tribute with all the arbitrary authority of Roman pro-consuls. In his metrical romance, 'Frontenac',

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[1]League of the Iroquois, I, p. 87.
[2]Carrington, Report of 1890, p. 22.

Mr. Alfred Street has vividly pictured the Mohawk supremacy:

"The fierce Adirondacks had fled from their wrath,
"The Hurons been swept from their merciless path;
"Around, the Ottawas, like leaves, had been strown,
"And the lake of the Eries made silent and lone.
"The Lennape, lords once of valley and hill,
"Made women, bent low at their conquerors' will.
"By the far Mississippi the Illini shrank
"When the trail of the Tortoise was seen on the bank;
"On the hills of New England the Pequod turned pale
"When the howl of the Wolf swelled at night on the gale;
"And the Cherokee shook in his green smiling bowers
"When the foot of the Bear stamped his carpet of flowers."[1]

In 1663, when the Mohegans wished to build a fort they first obtained consent of the Mohawks. In 1751, when the Susquehannahs wished to receive a missionary, they first asked permission from the Mohawks; and as Cadwallader Colden tells us in his history, for years the sight of a Mohawk in New England was greeted by native Indians with a shout of terror, "A Mohawk! A Mohawk!" as they fled at once for shelter. They were for years the terror and the scourge of the French settlements in Canada; and had their anger been roused against the Dutch or English, they might have destroyed utterly the weak and struggling colonies. And so the nearest white neighbors of the Iroquois, the Dutch settlers of the Upper Hudson, found it absolutely necessary, and not merely a prudent policy, if they would prosper and endure, to establish the most friendly relations with the Iroquois family of nations.

It is well-known that the French have been far more successful on this continent than other white nations in winning the friendship and confidence of Indians; but strangely enough they never could conciliate the Iroquois. And it was surely providential for the Dutch and English colonists that

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[1]Brodhead's History of the State of New York, I, pp. 86, 87.

this powerful confederacy, from first to last, during an hundred and fifty years, remained inveterately hostile and resentful toward the French. And, why was this? we naturally ask. When the French colonists first established themselves on the shores of the St. Lawrence River, they wisely endeavored to win the confidence of the Indian tribes of the vicinity, the Hurons and the Algonquins, that they might make a friendly alliance with them. But brothers in peace must also be brothers in war time. And so it was to help his red brothers, as well as in the spirit of adventure and discovery, that Champlain and his two French comrades joined a party of the Canadian Indians on the war-path southward into the Iroquois country. But Champlain could not foresee the costly, if remote result of that expedition, when he brought astonishment and defeat to a large war-band of the Iroquois by the thunderous discharge of his arquebuses, and the death of two of their chiefs, on that notable 30th of July, 1609, near the northern end of Lake George. From that day forward the pale-faced Frenchmen were included with Algonquins and Hurons in perpetual hatred, because of the irresistible defeat and deep disgrace, which never could be forgotten. The tiger-heart of the Iroquois was maddened, not merely by the death of chiefs whom he could not soon avenge, but by the knowledge that henceforth his hated northern enemy, aided by pale-face firearms, would have clear advantage to deal him frequent defeat. France paid dearly for that easily-won victory at Ticonderoga, and her alliance with the foes of the Iroquois, during all the weary, anxious years until the end of her regime in Canada. Not merely individual warriors, but the Mohawk nation, and the whole confederacy of nations, hated the French with an unrelenting and inextinguishable fury, so fiercely unique that it became in time a marvel and a proverb.

Six years later, in 1615, we learn from Champlain's own account that he, with a number of his Frenchmen, joined an expedition against the Onondaga villages, on the northern shore of Onondaga Lake, near the site of the present town of Liverpool. This battle was indecisive, since the Iroquois finally succeeded in discouraging and driving off the besieg-

ers; nevertheless Champlain, who was practically in command of the attacking party, by his device of a moving tower filled with French marksmen who shot numbers of the palisade-defenders, would surely have won a second victory had he been able to enforce any discipline among his savage allies, or encourage them to renew the attack. As it was the Frenchman gained nothing save an increase of burning passion and deadly revenge in the Iroquois heart.

The Jesuit missionaries, Fathers Bressani, Breboeuf, Goupil, Garnier, Isaac Jogues, and others, saints as well as heroes, nothwithstanding all their gentleness, patience and fearless consecration, during their persistent attempts of many years, made very little impression upon these sullen and suspicious people. Thrilling is the story of the truly apostolic efforts and sufferings of these self-denying Jesuits, who received as the only earthly recompense of their labors and sacrifices, persecution, abuse, torture and martyr-death *because* they were Frenchmen. And finally something happened which not only destroyed the one feebly successful mission among the New York Iroquois, but it terminated all Jesuit missionary work in the province. A thoroughly organized campaign was undertaken against the Iroquois, with the approval of Louis XIV, and his direction that prisoners taken from the Five Nations should be sent over to labor in his galleys. Denonville, the French governor, in his zeal to carry out his Majesty's orders, anticipated the verdict of war, and treacherously seized a number of the chiefs of the Five Nations, who had been induced to attend what they supposed to be a friendly interview at Fort Frontenac, near the present city of Kingston, Ontario. Parkman tells us, on the authority of Denonville himself and four other French writers, that "the men were sent to Quebec, where some of them were given up to their Christian relatives in the Canadian missions who claimed them, and whom it was not expedient to offend; and the rest, *after being baptised,* were sent to France, to share with convicts and Huguenots the horrible slavery of the royal galleys."[1]

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[1]Frontenac, p. 142.

Promptly the cruel scheme of the French governor was discovered, and the Iroquois flamed into war. Lamberville, a Jesuit father, had lived and labored among the Onondagas for twenty years. He had won their confidence, and they were unwilling to believe that he was implicated in the treachery of his countrymen. So, instead of dispatching him with the tomahawk, as belonging to a faithless and hated race, he was conducted by trusty guides through the forest, and sent back to Canada in safety. Thus the French missions among the Iroquois were closed by an act of the Canadian governor, the insanity of which was hardly relieved by the self-denying virtues of those faithful devotees who had labored so long to spread Christianity through Central New York.[1] We cannot wonder that these haughty Indians, who never forgave injustice and treachery, should have taken a few months later a frightful revenge upon the French in the massacre of La Chine, the worst atrocity in Canadian history.

Now mark the disposition and conduct of the pale-face *Allies* of the Iroquois! First the Dutch settlers, and later the English, kept unbroken treaty-faith with them from the year 1618 during a century and a half; but quite naturally and constantly they fostered Iroquois suspicion and hostility toward the French, the common foe.

It is claimed by certain well-known historians of Colonial America that the *Dutch* kept faith with the Iroquois for nothing but selfish reasons; partly for the sake of securing their own safety, and partly with the view of monopolizing the valuable fur trade of the Indians. In the interest of truth, however, I must urge another motive, and a thoroughly unselfish motive, an earnest and persistent *desire* in the pastors and leading men of the Dutch in Albany and Schenectady,—sincere as the desire of John Eliot or Roger Williams,—to *improve* and Christianize the Red Man. An examination of the original sources of early New York Colonial history will compel the historical student to credit the Dutch with unselfish Christian zeal for the highest welfare of the Iroquois, and

[1]See Prof. A. G. Hopkins' Early Protestant Missions among the Iroquois, in Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, 1885-6.

especially the Mohawks, their nearest neighbors. Early Church records *show* that the pioneer pastors of Rensselaerwyck—the first Dutch name of Albany—were *directly commissioned* and enjoined by their highest ecclesiastical authority, the Classis of Amsterdam, to preach the gospel to the "heathen" redmen, as well as to the whites. In the case of Megapolensis, Albany's first pastor, this fact is evident from an examination of his "call", dated March 22, 1642. Exactly one month later the Classis of Amsterdam wrote to Domine Bogardus and his consistory of the New Amsterdam Church, (organized on Manhattan Island in 1628 by Domine Michaelius), exhorting them "to hold correspondence and communion with Megapolensis, so far at least as the circumstances and the place permit; and thus, with united hands, to proclaim the Word of the Lord, not only among our own nationality, but also among the blind heathen in America." Reaching Albany late in the summer of 1642, Megapolensis very soon exerted a visible influence in restraining the immoralities of frontier life. He succeeded in saving the life of Father Isaac Jogues, a Jesuit missionary, from torture and probable death at the hands of the Mohawks soon after his arrival. In 1644 Father Bressani was rescued from them, and similar kindness was also shown to Father Poncet.

Megapolensis at once set himself to learn the Mohawk language, so as to be able to preach to them directly. A number of these Indians were received to membership in his Church. He was the first Protestant missionary to the Indians, preceding by several years John Eliot in New England. The second year of his seven year pastorate in Albany he prepared and published a volume describing fully the Mohawk people,—the first careful and accurate book on Indian life and character given to the world.[1]

Godefriedus Dellius should also be mentioned as helpful in securing Iroquois friendship, for he was for sixteen years minister of the Albany Church, and for all that time a missionary to the Mohawks. On the ancient records of the old First Reformed Church of Albany may still be seen in Del-

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[1]Corwin's Manual R. C. A., pp. 26, 233, 612, 613.

lius' own handwriting the names of Indian babies he baptized, and the names of Indian men and women he received into full communion of the Church.

For a time he was allowed sixty pounds a year by provincial authority for teaching the Indians. In 1693 he had three Indian boys boarding in his house. He also greatly restrained the Mohawks in their treatment of French prisoners. Father Milet, a Jesuit priest, was saved much suffering from the Oneidas through the influence of Dellius. He was often employed as a civil agent to the Indians, and had remarkable influence over them. Within the last twenty years historical students have made unkindly reference to the close of Dellius' ministry in Albany,—hinting at dishonorable reasons as the occasion of his return to Holland. Governor Bellomont was responsible for cruel slanders and criminal charges against Domine Dellius; and people who are swift to believe anything rumored *against a minister* doubtless believed firmly that Dellius' *purchase* of lands from the Indians, which was confirmed by grant of Gov. Fletcher, was for his own personal profit, rather than for them, as he claimed:—but the trust-deeds of these lands easily seen by anyone to-day at the Albany Capitol, with the testimony of Dellius in his own defense, with the statement of Gov. Fletcher, and the findings of the ecclesiastical court, fully vindicate the slandered preacher as an honorable and upright man.[1] Robert Livingston, the provincial Indian agent, promised the Mohawks in 1700 that he would engage Johannes Lydius, (an intimate personal friend of Dellius), to learn their language, and preach the gospel to them. He hoped soon to have the Bible translated into their language, "and then their children should learn to read it, and it would be interesting and consolatory to them." In 1702 the praying Indians represented to their agent that Lydius had exhorted them "to live as Christians, not in envy and malice, which are the works of Satan, but in concord and peace; that then God would bless them. These teachings, they say, had so wrought on their spirits, that they were now

[1]See Corwin's Manual, R. C. A., 90, 408; also Schuyler's Colonial New York, II, 145-149.

all united and friends." They returned hearty thanks for the pains taken with them, which, according to Indian custom, they acknowledged with a belt of wampum. When Lydius died seven years later, the Indians presented four beaver-skins to the agent as an expression of their condolence at his death.

Bernardus Freeman was the pastor of the Dutch Church at Schenectady, and also missionary to the Mohawks, 1700-1705. Gov. Bellomont appointed him teacher to the Five Nations, Aug. 21, 1700, at a salary of sixty pounds. Next year the salary was raised to seventy-five pounds; but two years later it appears that the salary was paid irregularly. It is claimed that he acquired more skill in the language of the Mohawks than any Dutch minister that had been in the country, not even excepting Dellius.[1]

Petrus Van Driessen during his twenty-six years of pastorate in Albany gave much attention to missionary work among the Mohawks, and later among the Oneidas also,—although giving up the work partially, it is said, after the Church of England missionary, the Rev. William Andrews, settled at Fort Hunter in the Mohawk country; but he fully resumed the work after Mr. Andrews left in 1719. Although refusing to appeal for help to the Governor again and again for services rendered, he at length found the burden so great in travel to and from the Mohawk country at his own expense for twenty years, that we find him appealing to the Classis of Amsterdam first, and later to the Governor, for indorsement and assistance.[2]

The encouragement and compensation given Dutch pastors of Albany and Schenectady because of their missionary work among the Iroquois by the Colonial Governors, (who naturally were in the interest of the Church of England), were due to political prudence rather than evangelical concern; and *Dutch* pastors were used as useful political agents because they were available, living "next door to the Indians", so to

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[1]Corwin's Manual, 587, 468.
[2]Ecclesiastical Records of New York, iii, 2191, iv, 2549, 2595.

speak; while Church of England missionaries of any kind *could not be had* for many years.

A half-century of appeal, however, with argument and entreaty by New York pastors, and Colonial Governors, and Indian Agents, urging in the strongest terms upon the Christians and the Government of England, in behalf of Iroquois evangelization, the plea of *political necessity,* as well as expediency and prudence, humanity and justice, and the command of Christ Himself, *at last resulted* in the sending of the Rev. Thoroughgood Moor in 1704 as English missionary to the Mohawks. Great preparations were made for him, and great things were expected of him; but at the very beginning he was detained for many weeks in Albany by "a great fall of snow"; and later, owing to the influence of the fur-traders and rum-sellers, his efforts to convert the heathen were entirely without fruit; and the next year he returned to New York.

In 1708 the Rev. Thomas Barclay was chaplain to the English fort in Albany; and often read service and preached in Dutch to the Albany people. He officiated also at Schenectady, and worked among the Indians from time to time, until November, 1712, when Rev. William Andrews came from England as the successor to Mr. Moor.

Mr. Andrews seems to have been disappointed and pessimistic from the first of his work at Fort Hunter; he saw nothing good in the Indians, old or young; "heathens they are", he writes, "and heathens they will still be". Having this mind he was fore-doomed to be a failure; and after several requests for leave to resign were denied, he was finally permitted, in 1709, to abandon his mission by the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts."[1] Not far from 1730 the Rev. John Miln is serving the Albany station as missionary. The commanding officer of the garrison wrote the Society in 1731, commending Mr. Miln's "indefatigable pains in instructing the Indians in the principles of the Christian religion";—Mr. Miln's plan being to visit the

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[1]Compare Ecclesiastical Records, iii, 1556, 1866, Hawkins' Missions of the Church of England, 265, 282 ff, 266 ff.

Mohawks four times a year, and to remain with them five days each visit. In 1735 the same British officer repeated and confirmed his favorable testimony, stating that, "the Indians were very much civilized of late", which he imputed to the industry and pains of the Rev. Mr. Miln; reporting that he was very diligent in baptizing both children and adults; and that the number of the communicants was daily increasing.

In 1736, in Lieut. Gov. Clark's report to the Lords of Trade, he mentions payment of sixty pounds to Mr. Barclay. This was the Rev. Henry Barclay, the son of Rev. Thomas Barclay, for some time catechist among the Mohawks; who, after taking orders in England, in 1738 was appointed by the Society as missionary to Albany and Fort Hunter, (the fort having been built in 1718), and continued his labors till 1746. His life was frequently in danger because of French Jesuit intriguing with the Mohawks; yet, at his departure after eight years of work, he had a congregation of 500 Indians, of whom more than eighty were regular communicants.

For a time the Mohawk Indian mission was vacant, but was filled in 1748 by the appointment of the Rev. John Ogilvie, who was specially qualified for service at Albany, being able to preach in the Dutch language. From his first letter it appears that the Mohawks, among whom he had spent the winter, were attentive to all the observances of religion; but they fell to excessive drinking at his departure. In successive letters Mr. Ogilvie complains of the serious havoc wrought among the Indians by their indulgence in strong drink. In 1756 he writes that when the Mohawks are home from their hunting expeditions they regularly attended divine worship; and even while out upon the hunt several of them came sixty miles to communicate on Christmas Day. The number of his Indian communicants was fifty. He says that in less than six months fifty-five persons had died, chiefly from the effects of drinking; but he persevered steadily in his duty, and daily catechised the children. Early in 1760 he went with the expedition to Niagara as chaplain; and his letters prove his truly apostolic spirit. During the campaign he had been particularly careful to perform all the offices of religion among

the Indians allied with the Colonial army, "great numbers of whom attended divine service constantly, regularly, and decently."[1]

In 1770 the Rev. John Stuart, by the recommendation of Sir William Johnson to the Society, was appointed missionary to the Mohawks at Fort Hunter. This good man won the confidence and respect of all who knew him. Mrs. Schuyler felt for him "the utmost veneration". Mrs. Grant says of him in her Memoirs, "he labored among the Indians with apostolic zeal, and with the same disregard for the things of this world". He prepared with the assistance of the celebrated Joseph Brant, the famous Indian chief, a Mohawk translation of the Gospel of St. Mark, with a compendious History of the Bible, and an Exposition of the Church Cathechism. In 1774 the death of Sir William Johnson brought great sorrow and loss to Mr. Stuart. On the breaking out of the War of the Revolution, he naturally remained loyal to the British King, and naturally exerted an influence upon his Indians which soon made him obnoxious to the yeomanry of the Mohawk Valley. He was beloved by the Indians, and protected by them for a time; but upon the approach of Burgoyne, the Mohawks hastened to join his army, and shared his downfall. Having been put upon "parole", and forbidden to leave the place, Mr. Stuart lived in Schenectady for some time; but in 1781 he was permitted with his family to remove to Canada. The honorable title of the "Father of the Upper Canada Church" was worthily given him after years of faithful service in "the Dominion",—given not more for his age and the length of his service, than for the kind, paternal advice and encouragement he was ever ready to give. Known among his New York friends as "The Little Gentleman", because six feet, four inches in height, his gentle and conciliatory spirit led him to win men by kindness and persuasion, and his sermons were recommended by the affectionate manner of his delivery.[2]

The Sir William Johnson mentioned above was an earnest supporter of the Church of England. Living for many years

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[1]Hawkins' Missions of the Church of England, 283, 284, ff, 286 ff.

[2]Compare Doc. Hist. N. Y. iii, 645, iv, 313, Hawkins' Missions of the Church of England, 320 ff.

among the Indians of the Mohawk Valley, and until his death, he zealously exerted himself for the education and conversion of the Indian tribes. He also was most zealous in promoting the permanent establishment of the Church of England in America by the endowment of an episcopate. For this purpose he conveyed to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 20,000 acres of land in the neighborhood of Schenectady; and on the 10th of December, 1768, he wrote as follows on the subject: "We cannot have a clergy here without an Episcopate; and this want, as it has occasioned *many* to embrace *other* persuasions, will oblige *greater numbers* to follow their example."[1]

In the year 1748 the people of New England were roused to an interest in missions to the Iroquois. Messrs. Spencer, Woodbridge and Hawley visited the Mohawks that same year. Spencer remained but a short time, and it is recorded of him that he could not surmount the difficulties he encountered.

Four years later, in the "Old South Meeting House", Boston, the Rev. Gideon Hawley was publicly set apart to the work of an evangelist among the Western Indians. He had a preliminary course in training for Indian work at Stockbridge under Jonathan Edwards. A few Iroquois families from the Mohawk, Oneida and Tuscarora tribes were in the habit of coming to Stockbridge for the sake of Christian knowledge and the schooling of their children. Hawley was their teacher, and preached to them on Sundays. The same year, 1752, he made a short visit to the Mohawk country to look over the work. On his return, in view of the strong desire of the Mohawks for Christian instruction, it was agreed that Hawley and Timothy Woodbridge should set out for the Indian country. They visited Sir William Johnson at his residence on the Mohawk River, in May, 1753, and secured his patronage, which on account of his great influence with the Indians was considered very important; but afterwards, for some reason, probably at Johnson's suggestion, they turned southward into the country of the Tuscaroras. At Oughquauga on the Susquehanna River, a little distance north of the pres-

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[1]Hawkins' Missions of the Church of England, 293, 320, 327.

ent city of Binghamton, N. Y., a mission was established. Hawley journeyed east the next year; and in Boston, July 31, 1754, he was solemnly set apart as a missionary to the Indians, and forthwith he returned to his Tuscarora mission station. However he continued the work there in person only for about two years, for in 1756 he was driven out by the French War. Afterward he sought to return; but the "enterprise was found too hazardous to be prosecuted". In 1758, at the earnest solicitation of the Commissioners of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, he succeeded the Rev. Mr. Briant, as missionary to the Mashpee Indians, in south-eastern Massachusetts; and there he passed the rest of his life, nearly fifty years, seeking the highest welfare of his Indian brethren. At his former Tuscarora mission, in 1762 a church was established, with a school for adults, and a school for children, by the Rev. Eli Forbes of Brookfield, Mass., who was spending some months in that region on a missionary tour.

In many respects the greatest of all the missionaries to the Iroquois Indians was the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, who prepared himself for his life work by studying at Princeton, and later at Wheelock's school at Lebanon, Conn., (Dartmouth College was the outgrowth of this school),—where he studied the Indian language. Later Kirkland made a visit to Sir William Johnson, and entered upon a preliminary service of probation for some months among the Senecas of Western New York, among whom more than once he barely escaped the fate of the Jesuit fathers Jogues and Garnier. In 1764 he was sent out as missionary to the Oneidas, and established his mission near the site of the present college town of Clinton, New York. Nearly forty years Kirkland labored here, among the Oneidas, as their pastor, teacher, guardian and friend. To him it was due, under the Divine Spirit, more than to any other man, or company of men, that when the Revolutionary War began, the Oneida and the Tuscarora nations could not be turned against the Patriot cause, even by their Iroquois brothers of the other nations. It has been well said that Kirkland's name is worthy to be grouped with the names of John Eliot and David Brainard; as one of the brightest exponents

of the missionary spirit which the history of the Church can furnish. Considering his varied labors and services during the Revolution, "he seems deserving of no less honor from his countrymen than many a military hero crowned with blood-bought laurels". From a tract of land given him by his Oneida friends, and confirmed to him by the Government, he granted by deed in 1793, about three hundred acres of land in trust for the building of Hamilton-Oneida Academy. His design was—"laying the foundation, and supporting an academy contiguous to the Oneida nation, for the mutual benefit of the early settlers of the country, and the various tribes of confederate Indians". The deed was made out to Alexander Hamilton and fifteen others. The corner-stone of the building was laid by Baron Steuben. 1812 the institution was removed to Clinton, N. Y., and was incorporated as Hamilton College.[1]

There are writers, like a late historian of "The Indian Wars of New England", who charge continual craft, cruelty and greed in dealing with the Indians upon *all white settlers* in New York and New England, Dutch and English alike. I protest however, that this indictment is unjust and unsustained, as to many faithful missionaries, Dutch, and Church of England and Puritan, as clearly set forth thus far: *disproved* also is the charge by the purpose and persevering labors of Sir William Johnson, with an honorable record for his just, humane and statesmanlike dealings as Indian Agent during many years. The charge is false to the facts in the life also of such Dutchmen as Arendt Van Curler and Peter Schuyler. The first of these men to the rude, lion-like savage of his day was his highest ideal of honor, truth and justice; for when after the death of Van Curler, the Iroquois gravely addressed Governor Lovelace or Fletcher as *"Corlear"*,—his name for Van Curler,—he could not pay that official greater honor, or give him greater assurance of good faith. It is also to the perpetual honor of Colonel Peter Schuyler, (for years an officer of the Dutch Church at Albany, and the first

[1]Compare Sprague's Annals, I, 493, 497, 623 ff, Gillett's History of the Presbyterian Church, I, 267.

Mayor of the city), that the Iroquois honored him always as a man "of one face"; and *"Quidor's"* word to him was the *"end* of all controversy", and of all doubt.

But some one says, "Did not the Dutch ministers *combine* missionary work among the Indians with pastoral work in the Churches they served?" They did this surely; and so did the English Eliot and Williams in New England; and the English clergy of Albany followed the same method, with the exception of Andrews and Stuart in the eighteenth century. It is easy enough to criticise the Christian zeal of the early settlers who sought to evangelize the Indians, and it is easy enough to argue the more effective method of charging the missionary to devote himself wholly to work among the Indians; but, meantime, what shall be done for the White Settlers? Keep it constantly in mind that to Christians in the Old World, whether England or Holland, all gospel work in the New World, among Whites as well as Red Men, was *Missionary Work;*—work difficult enough at any time to support with needed *funds,* and still more difficult to supply with needed *men.* Colonial Churches, English as well as Dutch, were provided with ministers only with great difficulty and expense; and at times almost all these churches were vacant. To most Christians in the Mother-Lands missionary work across the sea was not attractive; it seemed costly, and dangerous, and full of privation.

I have already said that the bonds of friendship, as well as trade relations, first established by the Dutch and Iroquois in 1618, and later ratified by the English and the Iroquois, were preserved inviolate for over 150 years. Until the Revolutionary War the Iroquois Nations remained friendly to their white neighbors; and they would have continued friendly long after that time had it not been for the persuasions and bribes of the emissaries of the English King,—the only White Ruler they had ever acknowledged,—as well as the influence of the missionaries of the Church of England. Because the Oneidas and Tuscaroras remained *loyal* to the Colonial cause, the Iroquois League was compelled to *abandon* its immemorial custom of the "unit rule"; and it was decided that each na-

tion of the six, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and Tuscarora, should be free, as it chose, to help the patriot cause, or the royal cause, or remain neutral. British guile and gold triumphed where French craft and Jesuit priest had steadily failed; four nations of the Iroquois were turned into cruel and deadly foes; and for seven years the Indian joined with Tory, and Hessian, and British regular to spoil and slaughter the patriot Americans.

When Independence was finally won, the Treaty of Paris in 1783 gave formal notice to all its Iroquois allies that the British Government had abandoned them utterly; so that all they could now do was to yield themselves up frankly to the generosity and prudence of the victorious patriots. Fortunately the Indians had a just and generous advocate in Washington; and seldom has the wise and Christian statesmanship of "the Father of our Country" been more manifest than in his enlightened policy concerning the defeated Iroquois. In harmony with his suggestions a treaty was made at Fort Stanwix, October 22, 1784, by which the United States gave peace to the Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas, and Cayugas, (the Oneidas and Tuscaroras not having been hostile), and the Six Nations surrendered all their lands west of New York State. By successive treaties a large part of their lands *within* the State were also given up, until in 1797 nearly all western and central New York passed to white control. The Mohawks, however, knowing well that they would be regarded with great aversion and suspicion by New York citizens because of their past cruel record, and foreseeing probably that they could not long *hold* any reservation within the State,—decided to make their homes in Canada, with the exception of a few hundreds who had some time before settled in the extreme north of the State. Since that final adjustment of relations the United States has had no more trouble with the Iroquois within its borders. On the contrary, the Senecas in the War of 1812 fought under the American flag against British soldiers, and even against Canada Mohawks allied with the British. Again in the Civil War the New York Iroquois furnished 160 soldiers for the Union Army.

But another question may occur to the mind of some one: —If such faithful and patient efforts were made for the conversion of the Iroquois by Dutch and English missionaries, why was so *little apparent good accomplished?* For one thing: —these Indians were not only *warriors* by nature, and training and choice, but also by frequent necessity; for the long struggle of the English and French for supremacy here during one hundred years *ended only* in 1763,—just thirteen years before the outbreak of the War for American Independence. It did not seem clear that the time had come for establishing missionaries *in residence* among these warrior Indians so long as they were at war. And further: it was a wildly sanguine hope to anticipate the making of deep and abiding impressions for good upon *such a people at such a time* by means of missionary visits of a few days each from the pastors of Albany and Schenectady, Dutch or English, no matter how earnest and faithful their efforts might be. These were adequate reasons for the meager results of missionary labor among the Iroquois *before* the Revolution; and surely *during* the Revolution even less could be expected. It is *not true* that by nature the Iroquois Indian is incapable of being Christianized and civilized; it is *not true* that the best and most persistent efforts were foredoomed to failure necessarily. Careful examination of the conditions among the Iroquois tribes for the last twenty-five years in New York reservations, as well as in Canadian reservations, abundantly proves that the Iroquois *can* be changed, improved, educated, christianized and civilized.

Here is but one interesting example: Ely Samuel Parker was born in 1828, a full-blood Seneca, and the grand-nephew of the famous chief Red Jacket. He had a common-school education, and later studied civil engineering. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was employed as an engineer on the U. S. Government building at Galena, Wisconsin. There he knew Ulysses S. Grant, and enlisted in the army with him; soon he was on Grant's staff, and later in the Adjutant General's department, and remained with Grant till the close of the war. Because of his excellent handwriting

he became Grant's chief secretary; at Lee's surrender Parker made the formal draft of the Articles of Capitulation; he delivered the document to Lee, and received his acceptance. Under Grant as President he was Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and through his wise administration there were no Indian troubles during his term of service. He died in 1895.[1]

The schools and churches in the six New York reservations among nearly 5,500 Iroquois Indians, are steadily growing and prosperous. During the long years of war they steadily lost in numbers; but do not believe for a moment that the Iroquois race *is dying out!* With one hundred and thirty years of peace, with different manner of life and different surroundings, with general friendship of white neighbors for them and general interest in them, although they have changed in nature, and habits of life, and aspirations, they have also steadily *increased* in numbers. An elaborate census of the New York reservation Iroquois was made in 1890, under Government authority by General Henry B. Carrington, which gives many interesting facts concerning the Iroquois of to-day. "How civilized ways and methods affect a savage nation the League of the Iroquois best illustrates. The vitality of this people, and the tenacity with which they hold to their traditions, even while adopting or accepting changes, have no parallel in aboriginal life. The U. S. Census, and the official report of Canada, show that the League twenty-three years ago probably numbered *more* than at any period for more than a hundred years preceding,—*more* also than it ever has since first known by Europeans,—and show further that the Iroquois people are *steadily increasing.* In 1890 there were in the United States 7,387 Iroquois, and in Canada, 8,483, a total of 15,870. Of the U. S. Iroquois 5,239 were located on New York State reservations, while 1,716 Oneidas were living on Wisconsin reservations. Last year the Iroquois in both the United States and Canada were estimated at nearly 18,000.[2] We further learn from this Report that the six New York reservations aggregate over

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[1]League of the Iroquois, II, p. 179.
[2]Carrington's Report on the State of the Six Nations, p. 5.

87,000 acres of land, conservatively valued at more than $1,800,000. The only Mohawk community in New York is that of the St. Regis reservation in the northern part of the State, and bordering a Canadian reservation, also occupied by Mohawks. This double reservation sustains a population of which three-fourths are Roman Catholics in religion, with their one great parish church on Canadian soil; the remaining one-fourth of the people belonging to a prosperous Methodist parish. The Iroquois on the northern part numbering 1,190, and those of the southern part, 1,157. The Onondagas are located on a small reservation, four miles long by two and three-tenths miles wide, some five miles south of the City of Syracuse, number nearly 500, and are under the care of Episcopal and Methodist missionaries. The Tuscaroras occupy a reservation of 6,249 acres, five miles east of the Suspension Bridge, number 459, and seem to be the most intelligent and prosperous of all New York reservation Indians.

A few miles northwest of Batavia we find the Tonawanda reservation, about one-quarter larger than the Tuscarora reservation, with a population one-fourth larger, mainly Senecas, with a few Cayugas and Oneidas. In the extreme west of the State is the large Cattaraugus reservation of 1,598 persons, mostly Senecas, and occupying over 21,000 acres; while the Alleghany reservation, with the largest acreage, has about 900 Indian population, chiefly Senecas. The principal town of this reservation is Salamanca, for many years past the residence of my good friend and Seminary classmate, the Rev. Dr. Morton F. Trippe. Dear old Trippe! as I knew him well for three years, modest, faithful, lovable, light-hearted and fun-loving as a boy, worthiest of us all was he to be called of God to be the gentle-spirited, fearless and consecrated "Apostle of the Senecas" for over a third of a century! He had charge for a long time of the Presbyterian missionary work in all four of the western New York reservations, in which also we find flourishing missionary work supported by the Baptist and Methodist Churches.

General Carrington's report as to moral and religious conditions among the various New York Iroquois tribes is

most gratifying. "During seven months of enumeration of these peoples"—when the General himself visited *every Indian home*—"neither vulgarity nor profanity was noticed,—while it was repeatedly forced upon the attention when resuming contact with the White Man's world outside." The Iroquois who are still *pagan* "do not worship nature, or the works of nature, but the God of nature; and all physical objects which minister to their comfort and happiness they believe are His gifts to His children." "They are neither idolaters nor atheists. It is through the simple Gospel revelation of their "Unknown God" that these Indians can be, and must be, approached." "By earnest, fraternal, unsectarian and evangelical work these red men can be reached. They have many strong and willing men ready for their emancipation from pagan control; and if the struggle be to save them *on* their lands, and not merely to *possess* their lands, their future will be safe."[1]

According to Indian tradition no white man enters the Indian heaven. As the Hebrews regarded Jehovah as exclusively their God, so the Indians regard the "Great Spirit". As before intimated, the Iroquois were practically abandoned by the British when peace was made with the United States in 1783. In the dark days of that critical time Washington was their true friend, and his wise and generous treatment they have never forgotten. To their simple and grateful natures it seemed specially fitting that the great and good Washington should be admitted to the Indian Paradise. According to their traditions, as stated by Morgan, "Just by the entrance of heaven is a walled enclosure, the ample grounds within which are laid out with avenues and shaded walks. In the center stands a spacious mansion, constructed in the fashion of a fort. Every object in nature which could please a cultivated taste has been gathered into this blooming Eden, to render it a delightful dwelling-place for the immortal Washington. The faithful Indian, as he enters heaven, passes this enclosure. He sees and recognizes the illustrious inmate, as he walks to and fro in quiet meditation. But no word ever passes his lips. Dressed in his uniform, and in a state of per-

[1]Carrington's Report of 1890, p. 48.

fect felicity, he is destined to remain throughout eternity in the (solitary) enjoyment of the celestial residence prepared for him by the "Great Spirit."[1]

What a *perfect* tribute to the character of our Washington!

What a convincing proof of the simplicity and nobility of our Iroquois brother in times of noble uplift when he is at his best!

[1]League of the Iroquois, I, 172.

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3. "GEORGE CLINTON," by Col. Ralph E. Prime, December 15, 1902.
4. "WASHINGTON, LINCOLN AND GRANT," by Brig.-Gen. James Grant Wilson, April 9, 1903.
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6. "THOMAS HOOKER, THE FIRST AMERICAN DEMOCRAT," by Walter Seth Logan, February 19, 1904.
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